

1: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1938
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

174 Four or five generations ago--it need have
131 been no farther removed in point of time--a
traveler entering the South Fork valley of the
Kern, in what is now east-central California,
would have found throughout the length of this
narrow, mountain-rimmed valley small clusters of
domed willow and tule houses. In these houses,
or ranging in groups over the valley and foot-
hills, he would have been likely to encounter
certain brown-skinned people, who obviously knew
this region as their home.

131 Today white men's ranches dot this same val-
177 ley. Automobiles speed up and down its well-
signed highroad; cowboys riding beside restless
herds of range cattle, and shepherds trailing
slow-moving flocks of dun-colored sheep, trav-
erse its length. But the valley and the surround-
ing foothills still shelter the descendants, now
few in number, of those brown-skinned Mongoloids
who less than a century ago spoke a Shoshonean
language exclusively, and knew nothing of agri-
culture and herding, of metal products and writ-
ing.

121 During three successive summers it was my
123 privilege to visit this valley, and to work with
certain of the Tübatulabal Indians whose parents
or grandparents had inhabited it in pre-white
days. My purpose was to obtain as complete a
description as possible of the manner in which
the "old-timers" had lived out their lives in
this region. By direct observation, questioning,
obtaining genealogies and census lists, visiting
former hamlet sites, collecting botanical speci-
mens, gossiping, the aim was in part, at least,
attained. The former mode of life of the Tüba-
tulabal, in large measure existent today only in
the minds of certain elderly persons, appeared
upon consideration of its details to have been
extremely interesting, despite its structural
simplicity.

174 The Tübatulabal say that they have always
[173] lived in the region where they are found today,
[171] but, as Dr. Lowie has pointed out,¹ the absence
[773] of migration myths is a characteristic of Sho-
shone mythology, to which Tübatulabal mythology
is fairly closely allied.² However, other evi-
dence, including the economic adaptation they
have made to their peculiar semidesert, semi-
Californian environment, indicates that the
Tübatulabal are by no means newcomers to their
area, although probably they originally entered
it from the desert regions to the east.

¹Lowie, 233.

²Gayton, 1935a.

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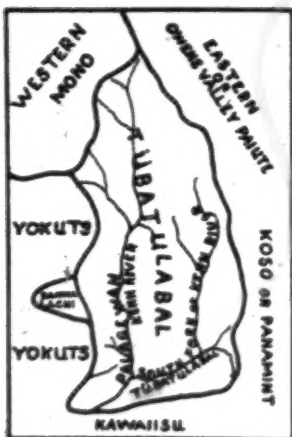


Fig. 1. Tübatulabal and neighboring groups.

[p. 7(c)]

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128 are written with single symbols. Altogether the changes are:

Old orthography	New (modified) orthography
tc	affricate
ts	affricate
dt	affricate
ds	affricate
c	sibilant

HABITAT

101 Tübatulabal linguistic group includes three discrete bands: Tübatulabal proper, situated now as aboriginally on lower reaches of South Fork of Kern r.; Palagewan, formerly living on unaugmented Kern; Bankalachi, a few miles W of Palagewan on W. slopes of Greenhorn mts. (fig. 1). Tübatulabal band alone has survived white contact; this study primarily concerned with culture of this group. Information gathered from Tübatulabal informants concerning Palagewan and Bankalachi is ascribed specifically to these latter bands.

197 Linguistic affiliations and name.- Dialects of Tübatulabal and Palagewan, said by informants to be slightly different but mutually intelligible (Voegelin, 1935a, p. v), plus Bankalachi dialect which differed very little from that of Tübatulabal, comprise Tübatulabal language; this is sole language in Kern River branch, one of 4 primary branches, of Shoshonean stock (Kroeber, 1907, 97, 98, 100). To N and NE of Tübatulabal are Western Mono and Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono), whose speech belongs to Mono-Bannock division of Plateau branch of Shoshonean; to E, Koso or Panamint of Shoshoni-Comanche division of Plateau Shoshonean; to SE and S, Chemehuevi and Kawaiisu of Ute-Chemehuevi division of Plateau Shoshonean. Farther SE, S, and slightly SW are Vanyume, Kitanemuk, and Alliklik respectively, of the Serrano division of Southern California branch of Shoshonean (Kroeber, Handbook, 577, pl. 78). To W and SW are Yokuts and farther SW Chumash (Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 78), neither Shoshonean.

101 Tübatulabal refer to themselves as pahkanapil; older informants also recognize tibatulabal which "was applied like a nickname by other tribes such as the Chumash, Kawaiisu, and some Yokuts groups" (SM, PN). PN said pahkanapil also sometimes used term formerly to refer to themselves. Both SM, PN said 2 names given above applicable not only to group living on South Fork of Kern r., but to other group on unaugmented Kern as well; Kroeber (Handbook, 607) and Gifford (1917, 220) use Tübatulabal in this sense, treating the 2 groups as single unit. For several reasons I treat these 2 groups separately. In giving genealogy SM referred to himself and his father as pahkanapil, but to his father's father, who lived

- 131 Habitat.-- Deltoid-shaped wedge of territory claimed by Tübatulabal and Palagewan (fig. 1)
- 133 consisted roughly of natural drainage area of Kern r. and its tributaries from river's source near Mt. Whitney to w. end of Kern canyon 14 mi. NE of Bakersfield; this area comprises some 1300 sq. mi., and is mainly mountainous with elevation between 2500-14500 ft. The n. 2/3 of area lies in high Sierras, with many mt. meadows and numerous peaks of 6000 ft. and more; it is well-watered, both Kern and South Fork of Kern being perennial streams, flowing southward at bottom of deep narrow canyons in parallel courses 20 mi. apart. Lawson gives 2 excellent views of canyon of unaugmented Kern and Little Kern plateau, showing character of region (Lawson, pl. 41a, b).
- [312] In s. third of area (fig. 1) mountainous character of country continues save for 3 narrow valleys, each drained by a stream, which ray out N-NE, E-NE, S-SW from common flood plain at confluence of unaugmented Kern and South Fork of Kern r. The n. valley is that of Kern r.; this flood-plain valley extends N, strewn with boulders and gravel, up unaugmented Kern for distance of 10 mi. from confluence, its breadth diminishing from 1 1/2 mi. to few hundred feet. The e. valley, that of South Fork of Kern r., extends E from confluence for 15 mi., with width in its lower part of more than one mile. In this valley,
- [34] flood-plain silts and sands mantle stream gravel in large part and make agricultural land. The s. valley, or Hot Springs valley, is a little over 4 mi. long and about 1 mi. wide; it is divided longitudinally into 2 parts by low median ridge of granitic rock. On e. side of this ridge is flat-bottomed alluviated plain from 1/2-3/4 mi. wide; in this plain are situated several hot springs. On w. side of median ridge in Hot Springs valley is tortuous channel of Kern r.; stream enters this rocky channel through streamworn notch in n. end of median ridge immediately at junction of South Fork and Kern r. Alluvium which forms floor of Hot Springs valley derived from 3 incoming streams, largest of which is Erskine creek which enters valley at s.e. corner and there builds up notable fan which spreads out over its entire width. Second stream is Vaughn creek which centers at s. end and gives rise to less important fan which is confluent with that of Erskine creek; smallest creek is that which drains an incipient canyon in face of steep mt. slope which bounds valley on e. side between Erskine creek and South Fork of Kern r. (Lawson, 399). Lawson gives several photographs of Hot Springs valley and excellent view looking up South Fork valley from confluence of South Fork and Kern r. (Lawson, pls. 39a, b, 40a, b).
- [312] 133 Near s. end of Hot Springs valley Kern r. enters precipitous gorge through which river rushes over huge boulders, creating continuous rapids for its 25-mi. course through gorge. There are no outstanding cataracts or falls in

349
224 springs. In early morning 2 men hid inside blind; as birds, small game came to water one man shot them, other went outside to gather them in. This done chiefly on pifion expeditions. Traps, blinds, etc., used especially on camp-hunting expeditions, when men, women went E to desert in small groups to camp for week or so and gather food (SM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 211).

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[373] Waterfowl shot with bow and arrow; mud hens when very fat "couldn't fly; it was easy to shoot them" (SM). Lighted torches, made from sticks on which pitch had been smeared, waved under trees where quail roosting at night; as birds flew down they were easily clubbed. Inflammable brush never piled up and fired to attract waterfowl; live or stuffed birds not used as decoys.

252 Preparation of animal food.- Deer, other large game skinned while warm as it lay on ground; incisions made with stone knife as among Havasupai (Spier, 1928, 111); skin removed with knuckles of closed hands "not much fat left on hide when it was skinned this way" (SM). Entire deer utilized; meat, guts laid directly on live coals to broil; meat never eaten raw, preferred "half done." Bones roasted, cracked, and marrow extracted. Old people with few teeth given liver (nū-man), which they pounded in small mortars or on flat rock. Flesh of other large game also either broiled on coals or stewed in clay pots; birds gutted (not gutted, MM), and plucked, roasted in ashes or impaled on stick and roasted over fire. Rabbits skinned, gutted, and broiled on coals, roasted in ashes, or stewed. Raccoons, of which Tübatulabal "ate lots," squirrels, woodrats gutted, hair singed off, roasted whole in hot ashes. All small game removed from ashes with "any kind of a stick." Deer head roasted in pit oven (šo-li-l, hole). Hole dug in ground, sides and bottom lined with flat rocks heated on open fire; head, unwrapped, denuded of horns, put into pit, covered with hot flat rock and pit sealed with sand or earth. Pit opened 12-14 hours later; head generally put in around sundown, taken out and eaten next morning. Cow heads now occasionally roasted in this way.

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● 131 Fish and mollusks.- Fish, both fresh and dried, of importance in Tübatulabal diet. Obtainable in South Fork of Kern r., augmented and unaugmented Kern, streams such as Erskine creek, former lakes in South Fork valley, mt. lakes in hinterland. Fish (knyu-l) included trout (ha'ayal), said to be native in mt. creeks (SM, FP), whitefish or bullheads (co-h), suckers (nimal), catfish (kapa-ganan), minnows (ko'oši'). Whitefish caught in irrigation ditches 30 yrs. ago so large that "when a man carried one over his shoulders, the tail of the fish scraped the ground" (FM); MM said man could hardly lift some of fish caught in corrals (below) and FP commented on how large fish were formerly.

Fresh-water mussels (šono', twins), which Gifford suggests are probably *Anodonta oregonensis*,

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161 mission, which Tubatulabal visited, may have
[164] drawn on population between 1775-1825 or if, as
SM stated, it did not, epidemics originating at
the mission may have caused early depopulation.
Possibly the population totaled nearer 500 than
300 in aboriginal times.

165 Causes of depopulation during last 75 years
have been Kernville massacre, 1863 (see Auto-
biography of FP); measles epidemic, 1902; in-
fluenza epidemic, 1918.

131 Territorial boundaries.- Boundaries of Tuba-
311 tubalabal and Palagewan territory as defined in
general way by SM, FP extended W of line drawn
from Mt. Whitney along crest of Sierra Nevadas
S to Walker pass and from Walker pass SW along
s. edge of South Fork valley and down Kern r.
gorge to stretch of rapids 1/2 mi. upstream
from w. mouth of gorge. From latter point bound-
ary line extended NE along crest of Greenhorn
mts., past headwaters of Bull Run creek and NE
to Mt. Whitney (fig. 1). The n. two-thirds of
area served chiefly as hunting range; SM could
[773] give few place names in it, never having pene-
trated far into it; in myth (Voegelin, 1935 b,
193) Coyote and Wolf go to Mt. Whitney to hunt.
The s. third of area, in aboriginal times as to-
day, more intimately known and was focus for hu-
man activities.

423 Whether Tubatulabal and Palagewan ever laid
621 claim to definitely bounded subareas not clearly
determined; in all probability did not, as land
ownership, either by individuals or hamlet, band
groups consistently denied by informants. Ex-
amples numerous of members of both bands ranging
in each other's habitat while hunting, fishing,
seed gathering.

101 The Bankalachi SM located ca. 1855 at Poso
231 Flat, which is 12 mi. W of junction of Kern r.
and Erskine creek, and 5 mi. W of Greenhorn mts.
"Then I was a boy I visited them there; we had
relatives there. There were lots of Tolowim at
Poso Flat then" (SM). FN located them at Deer
creek. SM's location of Bankalachi is 15 mi. S
of territory Kroeber assigns them at headwaters
of Deer creek, White r., and Poso creek (Hand-
book, 610; pl. 47), but evidently Bankalachi were
shifting about ca. 1850, as Powers says, "the
dwellers on Poso Creek and White River often suf-
fered terribly from (malaria) and, finally, with-
in the American period or very soon before it,
they all removed to a place called Whiskey Flat,
in the more salubrious region of the foothills,
from which they went down to their old home only
once a year, in the spring, to gather food seeds"
(Powers, 363). "Whiskey Flat" was first American
name for Kernville (Pen Pictures, 274), which is
on e. slopes of Greenhorn mts. in Palagewan area;
Powers may be referring to another Whiskey Flat
W of Greenhorn mts., as only a few individual
Bankalachi ever lived E of these mts. among Pala-
gewan, although they often visited Tubatulabal
area to gather piñons (SM, FN).

[p. 39(h)]

THE TÜBATULABAL

ORIGIN AND MOVEMENTS.

101 With the Kawaiisu, the survey of the Plateau Shoshoneans in California is completed. We come now to an entirely distinct branch of the family—that of Kern River. There is only one people included in this divergent stem, the Tübatulabal. Looking downstream, they face the utterly alien Yokuts. On their left are the Kawaiisu, on their right the Mono, at their back the Koso. They are thus nearly surrounded by members of all three divisions of the great Plateau branch.

197 From what little knowledge is available, the speech of the Tübatulabal is, however, not more similar to the Plateau idioms than to the Shoshonean idioms of southern California. A long separate history is thus indicated for them; and it is hard to imagine a more favorable location for such continued aloofness than the one they now occupy—a clean-cut valley in a high mountain region; within the true California of nature and yet at its edge; outside the wide Shoshonean plateau but at the same time bordering upon it. Even the element of contact with totally strange peoples is given—a factor that would at once stimulate, accelerate, and tend to perpetuate novelties of speech formation, and thus lead to the condition of this little people ranking coordinate with much greater divisions, in the classification of the family to which they jointly appertain.

174 The situation of the Tübatulabal thus partly accounts for their distinctiveness, and renders it unnecessary to assume any extreme length of time for their separateness. On the other hand, their language is so thoroughly specialized as compared with that of their neighbors, the western Mono and the Kawaiisu, whose location with reference to topography and contact with aliens is similar, that it is clear that the Tübatulabal have lived where they are now, or in the immediate vicinity, for a period several times as long as these two groups of their kinsmen.

173 The Tübatulabal are the people upon whom in particular has been fostered the slander, or the undeserved reputation, of issuing in warlike mood from their highland fastness and raiding the sluggish,

173 peaceable Yokuts of the plains, dispossessing these, indeed, until the southernmost Yokuts were almost separated from the main body to the north. The story even goes on to picture how they would have seized the entire Tulare Basin had they not become enervated by malaria—somewhat as Greek and Latin civilization perished before the same disease, according to a more recent and famous fancy. Even the fact that the Tübatulabal were all found living in the mountains when the white man came is explained: the same scourge drove them back to the salubrious hills whence they had emerged, and they utilized their conquests only for an annual or occasional visit.

173 As a matter of fact, the visits took place; but they were the visits
648 of guests. The southern Yokuts tribes, both of the plains and of the foothills, were generally quite thoroughly friendly, and joined one another in their respective territories to such an extent, according to the season of the year, that it is almost impossible to assign an exact habitat to any of them. The Tübatulabal, in spite of their separateness of origin and speech, were also in the main on amicable terms with these Yokuts tribes; and so came to join them in their little migrations. Just as they came down to Bakersfield, to Kern Lake, and to White River, probably even to Tejon and San Emigdio, the Yokuts, as occasion warranted, ascended the Kern for miles to fish, and to its forks, the center of the Tübatulabal home, to visit.

The entire little pseudo-history rests neither upon evidence nor even native tradition, but is solely an imagination developed from a knowledge of the facts that the Tübatulabal are Shoshonean and that eastern tribes are often more aggressive than those of the Pacific coast area.

Of course the amity between Yokuts and Tübatulabal suffered intermissions. But the Yokuts tribes fell out among each other also, now and then; and the relations do not seem to have been different in more than moderate measure.

GEOGRAPHY.

•131 The land of the Tübatulabal was the region drained by Kern
101 River, down as far as a point about halfway between the forks and Bakersfield. The exact spot has not been determined; it was not far from the Paleuyami Yokuts settlements Shoko and Altau, and a few miles above what the Yokuts call K'ono-ilkin, "water's fall," a cascade, or perhaps a stretch of rapids that does not appear on our maps but which served as a landmark to the natives.

The modern Tübatulabal settlements, and apparently the majority of the old villages, were in the vicinity of the forks of Kern, both above and below the junction, and apparently more largely on the

smaller South Kern. On the map the entire area tributary to both branches has been assigned to the Tübatulabal; but the upper reaches, which are little else than two great canyons among vast mountains, were assuredly uninhabited, and it is not even certain that the Tübatulabal laid exclusive claim to their hunting rights.

Substantially, this Kern River country is a rugged depression between the southern end of the main Sierra Nevada proper and a secondary parallel range. From this lower range to the west, Tule River, and Deer, White, and Poso Creeks flow westward, through Yokuts lands, directly into Tulare Lake. Kern River, however, is confined to a true southerly course until after it has worked its way around the end of the secondary range, when it sweeps westward, and finally almost northward, until lost in the tule swamps and lakes south of Tulare Lake. At least such was the condition until a generation ago: now the lake is nearly gone, and, except in times of flood, the volume of Kern River is dissipated in endless ditches and over irrigated stretches. The natural course of the stream is thus a great semicircle, open to the north: its upper half Tübatulabal, its lower Yokuts. Only at one point did the Tübatulabal leave their river. In the region of upper Deer Creek a small band seems to have had a home among the Yokuts. This group is referred to below as the Bankalachi.

Only a few names of places in Tübatulabal country can be located, and it is not known how many of these were villages. On the South Fork, Cheibü-pan was at Roberts, Tüsh-pan at Weldon. Yahau-pan was at the forks; Piliwini-pan near Whiskey Flat or Kernville; Wokinapü-pan farther up the main fork. Mount Whitney, "where all rivers begin," was called Otoavit. Owens Lake, on one side of the mountains, was Patsiwat, Bakersfield, on the other, Paluntanakama-pan.

The Yokuts called the village at the forks Pitnani-u; others, at Kernville, Tulonoya, at Keyes, Haukani-u; and at a hot spring above Vaughn, Tumoyo. The Tübatulabal territory is shown in most detail in the Yokuts map. (Pl. 47.)

The name Tübatulabal is Shoshonean and means "pine-nut eaters," but its dialectic source is not established. The Tübatulabal admit the designation, but also call themselves, or their speech, Pahkanapül. The Yokuts sometimes translate Tübatulabal into Wateknasi, from *watak*, "pine-nut"; but more frequently employ Pitanisha, from Pitnaniu, the central village. They also say Malda, but this term denotes any Shoshonean. Paligawonop and "Polokwynah" are unidentified names for the Tübatulabal.

They, in turn, name their neighbors as follows: Winanghatal, the western Mono of Kaweah River; Yiwinanghal, the eastern Mono or perhaps the Mono in general; Witanghatal, the Kitanemuk Serrano. These three names present the appearance of being directional terms. The Kawishin are the Kawaiisu, the Toloim the Bankalachi, the Amahaba the far-away Mohave. The Yokuts tribes in the valley along lower Kern River are the Molilabal; for the Yokuts in the foothills, somewhat distorted forms of their proper names are employed, as Witskamin, Paluyam, and Yokol, with perhaps an extension

765 faces of the mourners afterwards, and performed other services, for all of which they were paid.

THE BANKALACHI.

101 This small group was an offshoot from the Tübatulabal, that had
131 crossed the divide from Kern River and settled among the Yokuts
197 foothill tribes in the region where Deer Creek, White River, and
177 Poso Creek head. Their speech was only slightly different from that
563 of the Tübatulabal; but their associations were primarily with the
Yokuts, and they probably followed the customs of the latter.
Bankalachi (plural Bangeklachi) was their Yokuts name: the Tübatulabal called them Toloim. The majority of the little tribe are likely to have been bilingual; at any rate they were extensively intermarried with the Yaudanchi, Bokninuwad, Kumachisi, Paleuyami, and other Yokuts. Some of their blood flows in various of the Yokuts of to-day and something of their speech is not yet forgotten, but as a tribe they are extinct.

THE GIAMINA.

600 The Yokuts occasionally mention a supposed Shoshonean tribe, called Giamina by them, in the vicinity of the Bankalachi, probably on Poso Creek. It is extinct. A few words have been secured from the Yokuts. These are indubitably Shoshonean, but not of any known dialect nor wholly of affiliation with any one dialect group. It is impossible to decide whether this brief vocabulary is only the result of a distorted recollection by an individual Yokuts of a smattering acquaintance with Shoshonean; or a sort of jargon Shoshonean that prevailed among the Kumachisi or some other Yokuts tribe; or the vanishing trace of a distinctive Shoshonean language and group. The last alternative is by no means precluded; but it may never be proved or disproved. The existence of the name Giamina signifies little, for it may be a synonym. But it is an old appellation. Father Cabot in 1818 encountered the "Quiuamine" in the vicinity of the Yokuts Wowol (Bubal), Choinok, and Yauelmani ("Yulumne").

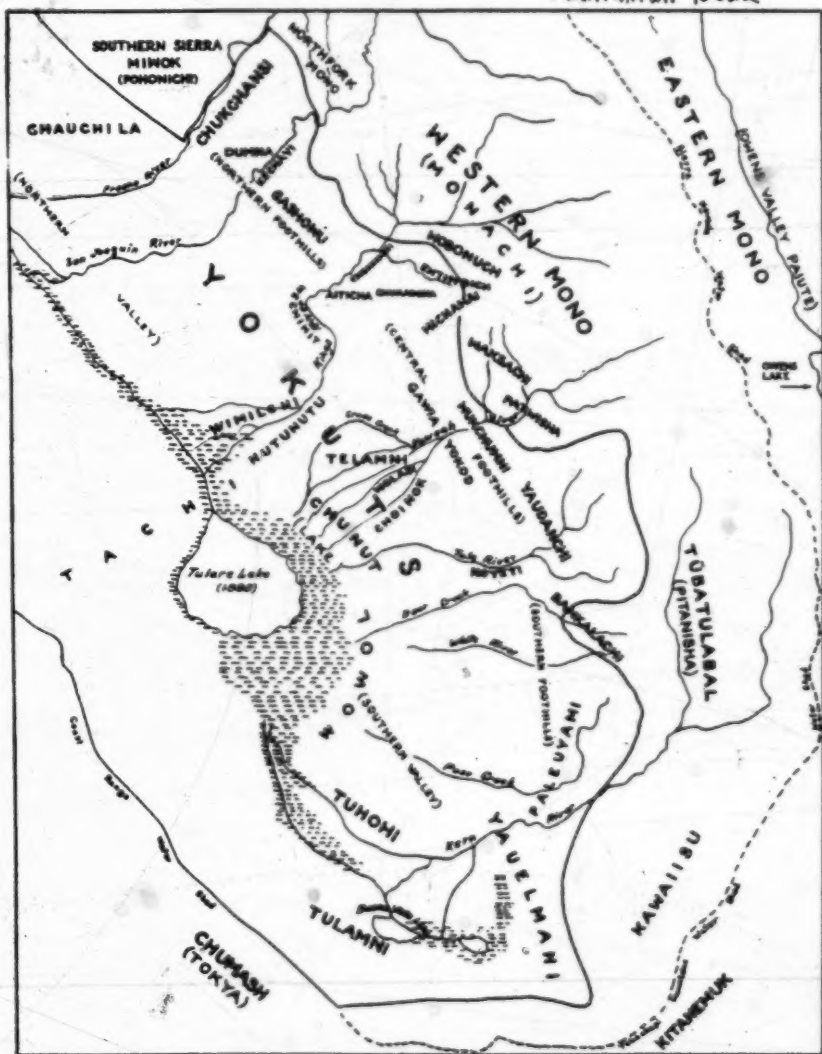
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[FACING P. 1]

Western Mono NS25

Tübatulabal NS22



Map 1. Yokuts and Western Mono tribes (after Kroeber)

[P. 9a] Tubatulabal NS22

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[484]
[361]
Y
[164]

friendly with the intervening Tachi (and, presumably, Salinan).

Wowol territory was somewhat west and elsewhere south of the Chunut. One important village was called Yiwo'ni. An island in Tulare Lake belonged to the Wowol; it was called witi'tsolo w'n. On it was a village which J.A. and her mother visited by means of balsas. They had a relative there. On the island was a tremendous number of bleaching bones which J.A. says were those of humans who had died of smallpox.²⁵ The visit was probably made between 1860 and 1870; it was "before the big earthquake."

South of Bakersfield lived people who "had a lake in the middle of their mountain. It dried in the summer." (This may be Castac Lake, possibly a small lake near present Tehachapi.) This tribe was called tpe'kai'yoko'č (red clay people) "because they lived in houses plastered with red clay, with tule roofs which were covered with mud." The people who live there now are called Tejon (whether this was Port Tejon or Tejon Ranch some distance to the east, J.A. could not determine; probably the former, which is near Castac Lake).

Y
[439]

The Tokya (Chumash and Salinan) lived "on the coast"; the Salinan of Chulame were called Tokya also. Various types of shell money were got from them. J.A. had not heard of Mutulu (a coast Indian raider mentioned by Wobonuch informants) or other individuals from the coast, and believed that the valley people went out to do their trading rather than that coast people came in. She, too, says that the bought shells were worked into money by the Yokuts purchasers.

At Ventura lived the Ititu'wit, but J.A. does not know whether this was the Yokuts name for these people, or what they called themselves.

T
[441]

The Kawe'sa (Kawailisu) lived east of Tejon, toward the hills "and talked something like the Monachi." They were noted for their large bows and arrows.

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The Ričiki'tu (Pitanisha) lived at Whiskey Flat "over back of Kern River." At another time J.A. said Ričikitu was "the Mexican name for the Pitani'sa who lived at Pita'n'n, where there was a deep little river."

Localities

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The following sites are located on Local Map A (map 2). Places known to be villages are marked with a dot and circle.

1. mu'sahau: a Wechihit village
2. wewa'yo: a Wechihit village
3. wo'hui

²⁵Powers mentions a "plague" which took many lives in the Fresno River region a few years before his visit (Tribes of California, 380).

[P. 51a] Tubatulabal 1329

159 father and is older than F.M., now lives up at Onyx.¹²⁶

Mayemai, the shaman, lived at Sototlo; there was another one whose name is not recalled. Poi'in, the shaman mother of Watisti, was a Bankalachi.

The village broke up during the summer, the families combining in groups of twos and threes for summer camps in the mountains. Little circular brush corrals were built for shelter. They remained out one or two months while the women gathered seeds.

When F.M. was about eighteen years old they moved up to Tule and later, with others, to the present reservation.

F.M. named a few sites, the location of which I was unable fully to determine. Sototlo village, on Deer Creek, he located six miles south of Tule River junction, which places both it and another Bankalachi village, Čena'w in Bokninuwad territory if we follow Kroeber's map.¹²⁷ Another village, 'n'wao, was east of Čena'w. Tonočim (transvestite) is the name of a little hill just above F.M.'s house on the present Tule River Reservation. The rock quarry, near the Monachi Golf Club, is at a spot called Toi'yo, which F.M. says refers to eagles' nests that were there. The first reservation, called Tule by all the Indians who refer to it, was at what is now Houghton's Corner on the eastern outskirts of Porterville.

STRUCTURES

Houses at Sototlo were conical, never gabled. There was no ring at the apex, as in conical houses farther north: the smoke "just went out where the brush came together at the top." When tule (pu'muk) was obtainable, sewn mats for covering were made of it. Usually large grasslike "brush" called kana's'ts was twined into mats some 3 to 4 feet long and about 3 feet deep: the rows of twining were about 12 inches apart. It took six to eight mats to cover a house. The fire was in the center; the fireplace had no special name. The "brush" house was called ya'w'el ti'1; that covered with tule, pumuk ti'1.¹²⁸

The sweat house was a single-post affair. The earth was excavated for about two feet. No side walls were attempted.¹²⁹ The radiating roof poles were tied to the top of the center pole. After interstices were filled with "brush," earth was thrown over all. There was

¹²⁶See Voegelin, 7.

¹²⁷Handbook, pl. 47. F.M. claimed ignorance of any people called Bokninuwad.

¹²⁸This informant, like most dwellers at the Tule River Reservation, speaks Yauelmani.

¹²⁹Cf. neighboring southern California sweat houses (Kroeber, Handbook, pls. 56 and 60).